

Message Text

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PAGE 01 LONDON 05189 01 OF 02 061934Z

41/17

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0452

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C O R R E C T E D C O P Y P A R A 1.

E.O. L1652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR, UK, US, XH

SUBJECT: "FOREIGN REPORT" - SUMMARY OF SONNENFELDT
STATEMENT

REFERENCE: STATE 080135. STATE 080419

1. FOLLOWING IS FULL TEXT OF LEAD ARTICLE, "THE
SONNENFELDT PAPERS," FROM MARCH 31, 1976 ISSUE OF
"FOREIGN REPORT":

QUOTE: FOREIGN REPORT IS PRINTING THE BULK OF THE
TEXT OF THE OFFICIAL SUMMARY OF THE STATEMENT MADE BY
MR. HELMUT SONNENFELDT, COUNSELLOR OF THE AMERICAN
STATE DEPARTMENT, TO TOP AMERICAN DIPLOMATS AT A MEETING
IN LONDON LAST DECEMBER. THERE IS SOME ARGUMENT ABOUT
WHETHER THIS SUMMARY IS A WHOLLY ACCURATE ACCOUNT OF
THE WORDS MR. SONNENFELDT USED, AND NUANCES ARE VERY
IMPORTANT IN THESE MATTERS. BUT THE FOLLOWING QUOTA-
TIONS -- GOING WELL BEYOND THE BRIEF EXCERPTS PREVIOUSLY
QUOTED IN THE PRESS -- SUGGEST THAT SONNENFELDT'S
VIEWS ARE (A) BASED ON A GLOOMY ASSESSMENT OF THE
GROWTH OF SOVIET POWER; BUT (B) NOT AS 'CAPITULATIONIST'
ABOUT/EASTERN EUROPE AS SOME CRITICS HAVE ALLEGED.

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PAGE 02 LONDON 05189 01 OF 02 061934Z

MR. KISSINGER'S COUNSELLOR DOES SEE SOME POSSIBILITY OF

CHANGE IN EASTERN EUROPE -- IF A LOT LESS THAN MANY PEOPLE WOULD LIKE.

WE ARE WITNESSING THE EMERGENCE OF THE SOVIET UNION AS A SUPERPOWER ON A GLOBAL SCALE. THIS WILL BE A LONG-TERM PROCESS. IT IS A PROCESS THAT IS JUST BEGINNING IN GLOBAL TERMS AS THE SOVIETS ARE JUST NOW BREAKING OUT OF THEIR CONTINENTAL MOULD. THEY ARE JUST NOW DEVELOPING MODALITIES FOR CARRYING OUT SUCH A GLOBAL POLICY. THE REASON WHY IT IS POSSIBLE FOR THE UNITED STATES AND ITS WESTERN EUROPEAN ALLIES TO DEVELOP THE POLICIES THAT WILL ALLOW US TO COPE WITH THE SITUATION IS THAT SOVIET POWER IS DEVELOPING IRREGULARLY. IT IS SUBJECT TO FLAWS AND TO REQUIREMENTS WHICH IN SOME CASES ONLY THE OUTSIDE WORLD CAN MEET.

THEIR THRUST AS AN IMPERIAL POWER COMES AT A TIME WELL AFTER THAT PERIOD WHEN THE LAST IMPERIAL POWER, GERMANY, MADE THE PLUNGE, AND HENCE IT COMES AT A TIME WHEN DIFFERENT RULES AND PERCEPTIONS APPLY. THE SOVIETS HAVE BEEN INEPT. THEY HAVE NOT BEEN ABLE TO BRING THE ATTRactions THAT PAST IMPERIAL POWERS BROUGHT TO THEIR CONQUEST. THEY HAVE NOT BROUGHT THE IDEOLOGICAL, LEGAL, CULTURAL, ARCHITECTURAL, ORGANIZATIONAL AND OTHER VALUES AND VIEWS THAT CHARACTERIZED THE BRITISH, FRENCH AND GERMAN ADVENTURES.

IN ADDITION, THERE ARE SERIOUS UNDERLYING PRESSURES AND TENSIONS IN THE SOVIET SYSTEM ITSELF. THE BASE FROM WHICH IMPERIALISM EXERTS ITSELF IS A SERIOUS PROBLEM IN THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL SENSE. THERE ARE ALSO INTERNAL NATIONALIST GROUPS WHICH ARE GROWING.

IN EASTERN EUROPE, PARTICULARLY, THE SINGLE MOST IMPORTANT UNIFYING FORCE IS THE PRESENCE OF SHEER SOVIET MILITARY POWER. THERE HAS BEEN NO DEVELOPMENT OF A MORE VIABLE ORGANIC STRUCTURE. THERE ARE ALMOST NO GENUINE FRIENDS OF THE SOVIETS LEFT IN EASTERN EUROPE, EXCEPT POSSIBLY BULGARIA.

THE SOVIETS' INABILITY TO ACQUIRE LOYALTY IN EASTERN EUROPE IS AN UNFORTUNATE HISTORICAL FAILURE BECAUSE EASTERN EUROPE IS WITHIN THEIR SCOPE AN AREA OF NATURAL INTEREST. IT IS DOUBLY TRAGIC THAT IN THIS AREA OF VITAL INTEREST AND CRUCIAL IMPORTANCE IT HAS LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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PAGE 03 LONDON 05189 01 OF 02 061934Z

NOT BEEN POSSIBLE FOR THE SOVIET UNION TO ESTABLISH ROOTS OF INTEREST THAT GO BEYOND SHEER POWER. THERE IS NO WAY TO PREVENT THE EMERGENCE OF THE SOVIET UNION AS A SUPERPOWER. WHAT WE CAN DO IS AFFECT THE WAY IN WHICH THE POWER IS DEVELOPED AND USED...WE WILL BE FACING THIS INCREASED POWER IF OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH THE RUSSIANS IS SWEET OR OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH THE RUSSIANS IS SOUR. THE DAY WHEN THE UNITED STATES COULD

CHOOSE ITS PREFERENCES FROM TWO ALTERNATIVES IS OVER:
THAT IS, TURNING OUR BACK ON THE WORLD...OR CHANGING THE
WORLD. THAT CHOICE NO LONGER EXISTS FOR US. THERE IS
TOO MUCH POWER IN THE WORLD FOR US TO IGNORE: NOT LUST
THE SOVIETS, BUT OTHER INDUSTRIAL POWERS, RAW-MATERIALS
PRODUCERS, AND EVEN THE COMBINED POLITICAL POWER OF THE

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